

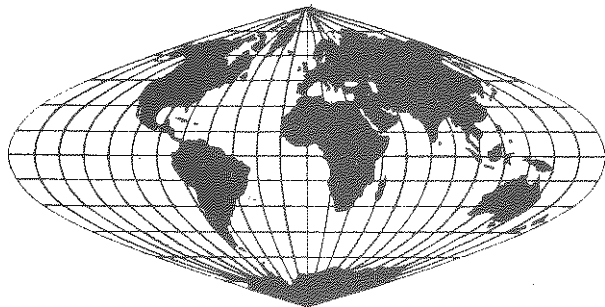
July 1982

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CORNELL/INTERNATIONAL AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS STUDY

Homes for the Migrants: The Pueblos Jóvenes of Lima

Pauline Herold



DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

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It is a pleasure to introduce Pauline Herold's paper "Homes for the Migrants: Lima's Pueblos Jóvenes." This study, as many before it, had its genesis in a paper submitted for my Fall term course, "Food, Population, and Employment." It is suggestive of the quality of work now being done by students in Cornell's several international programs.

Of the many challenges confronting the developing world, far and away the most important is the need to provide for the growing labor force. It is difficult to exaggerate the magnitude of this task. Between 1970 and 2000 it is expected that the LDC labor force will double--from one to two billion people. The billion new jobs that must be found are roughly twice the number presently existing in the industrialized countries. Since it is unreasonable to expect that agriculture can absorb but a fraction of the new entrants, the prospect is for unprecedented migration to town.

Ms. Herold describes this phenomenon as it is occurring in Peru. Lima, the capital city, with almost five million people, has more than doubled in size in little over a decade. A proliferation of pueblos jóvenes, shanty towns on the city's periphery, has been the result. Ms. Herold describes the history of the pueblos jóvenes, and the impact of government action and inaction on them. She concludes that the problems they face have become so intractable that other solutions must be sought.

Ms. Herold is a PhD candidate in the Division of Nutritional Sciences. A native of Lima, she studied the nutritional problems of preschool children in the pueblos jóvenes for her MS degree. Comments and suggestions are welcomed and these should be addressed to:

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It is most satisfying for Professor Diva Sanjur, Chairman of Ms. Herold's Special Committee, and me in this way to recognize the work of a superior student.

We are indebted to Lillian Thomas for preparing the graphics and typing Ms. Herold's manuscript.

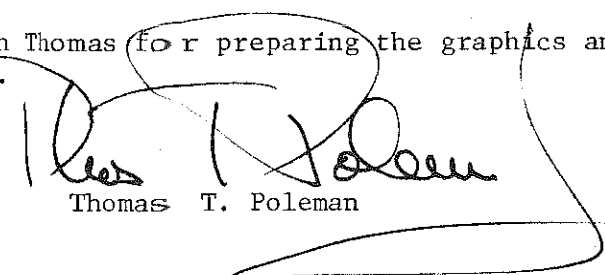

Thomas T. Poleman

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HOMES FOR THE MIGRANTS:
THE PUEBLOS JOVENES OF LIMA*

by Pauline Herold

I. INTRODUCTION

Urbanization is occurring at a rapid rate in the developing countries. The main contributor to the growth of the cities has been a massive influx of migrants from the less developed rural areas. It is an alarming phenomenon as the growth of the urban population has been at a faster rate than could be adequately absorbed. As a result, employment opportunities are insufficient, public services such as health care, education and transportation are overwhelmed by the demand, housing for many is unsanitary and unsafe, and congestion and pollution affect the cities.

The recent growth of Latin American cities is shown in Figure 1. In 1960, ten cities had a population of more than a million inhabitants. In only 20 years the number has nearly doubled. This growth shows no sign of diminishing in the near future. Sao Paulo is currently estimated to receive 600,000 migrants yearly (28, p. 260). If current trends continue, between now and the year 2000 its population will double, increasing from 13.5 million to 26 million (27, p. 4). It has been estimated that in the same period, the population of Mexico City will also double, reaching 31 million, to become the world's largest urban center (27, p. 4).

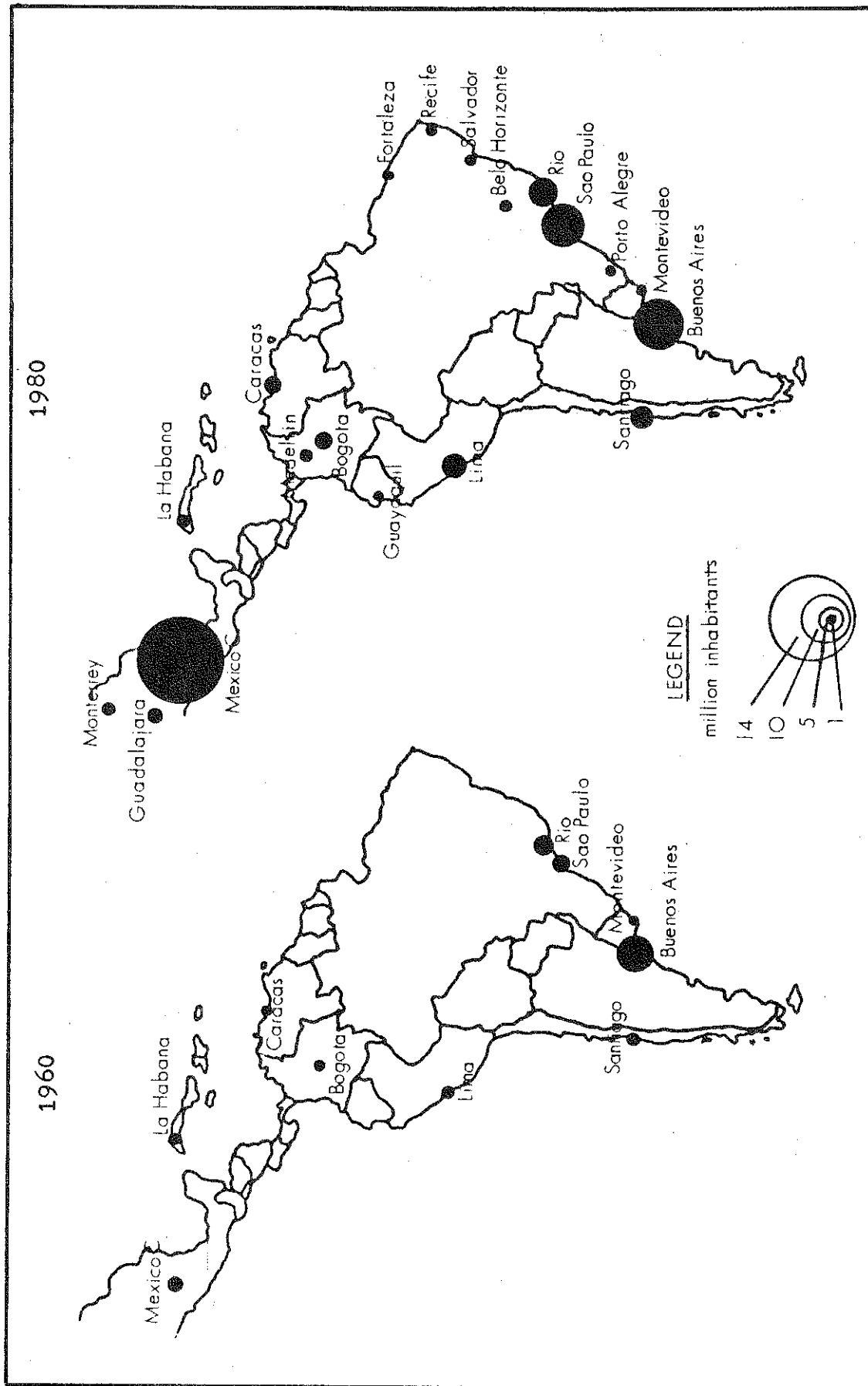
With a population recently estimated to be about 4.5 million (19, p. 57), Lima ^{1/} has also been growing at a very rapid rate. It has been by far the most frequent destination of Peru's internal migrants (22, p. 9). In about three decades, from 1940 to 1972, its population increased fivefold (18, p. 11). In the early 1970s, when the city had approximately 3 million people, it received 100,000 migrants a year (19, p. 57; 13, p. 102). Since then, although figures are unavailable, the number has certainly increased.

Having to receive such a large number of migrants, it is not surprising that the city has been unable to provide more than the most

*This paper was first submitted, in a modified form, as part of the requirements for Agricultural Economics 660, "Food, Population, and Employment," Fall Term 1981/82.

^{1/}The metropolitan area of Lima is adjacent to that of its port city Callao. For the purposes of this paper, the term Lima will be used to refer to the entire urban area.

FIGURE 1. LATIN AMERICAN CITIES WITH A POPULATION OF ONE MILLION OR MORE, 1960 AND 1980*



*Data from: United Nations, Demographic Yearbook, 1963 and 1979, New York.

minimal public services to a majority of its residents and employment problems abound. Here, focus will be on one of the problems facing the city, that of providing adequate housing to the migrants. The national government, the city and the migrants together have confronted the housing problems and so far, a solution has been found. However, the present situation indicates that in the future, new alternatives will have to be found.

II. SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PERU

Rural-urban migration is a result of disparities in social and economic opportunities between areas of a country. The differences throughout Peru cannot be understood without first considering the country's geography.

Geography and Society

The main geographical regions of Peru are shown in Figure 2. The coastal region is desertic. In the northern coast, irrigation allows the growth of cotton and sugar, the country's main agricultural exports. More importantly, the coastal region is the most urbanized and concentrates the country's industrial and commercial establishments. Lima, the capital city, is located on the central coast.

The Andes range crosses the Peruvian territory. The highland region is the least developed. There, the population is mostly rural, and farming (much of it for subsistence) and mining provide the main occupations.

Tropical rain forests cover more than half of Peru's territory. This is a sparsely populated area, holding only about a tenth of the total population.

Standards of living vary greatly throughout Peru, being highest in the coastal region. As indicated by the measures of socioeconomic development listed in Table 1, the highland and rain forest regions fall far behind.

Demography

Peru has experienced a rapid rate of population growth. For the period from 1961 to 1972, the average annual growth rate was estimated at 2.9 percent (12, p. 158). Figures for the period 1972 to 1981 show the growth rate to have declined to 2.6 percent (19, p. 4). The population is quickly becoming urbanized. As shown in Figure 3, in 1961 the country's population was just under 10 million and over half, about 5.2 million, lived in rural areas. Between 1961 and 1972 the urban population grew at an annual rate of 5.1 percent while the rural population grew only 0.5 percent. Between 1972 and 1981 these growth rates were 3.6 percent and 0.9 percent respectively (19, p. 5). As a result, Peru's current population is over 17 million and less than 6 million (about 35 percent) live in the rural areas (19, p. 5).

FIGURE 2. PERU: MAIN GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS

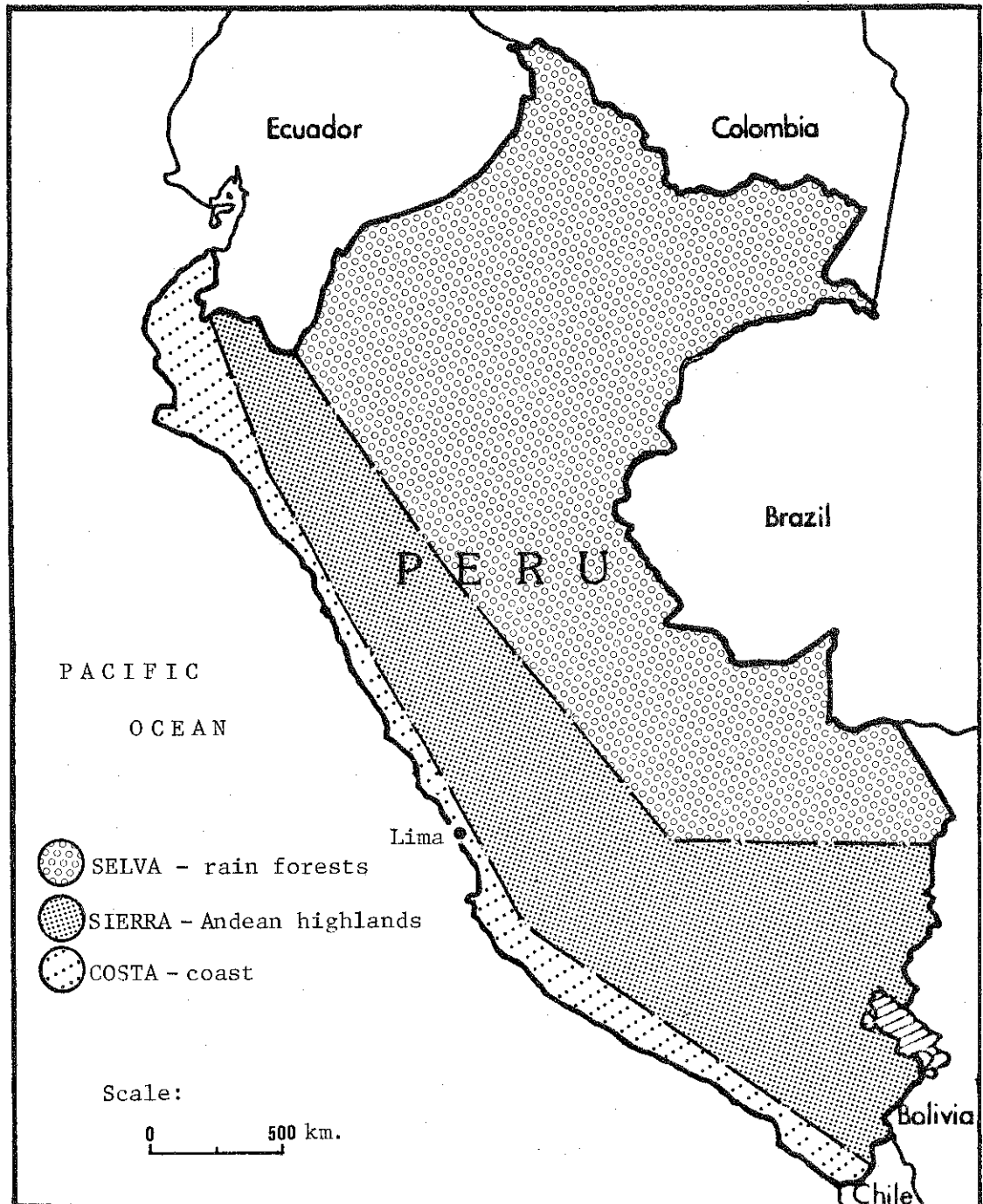


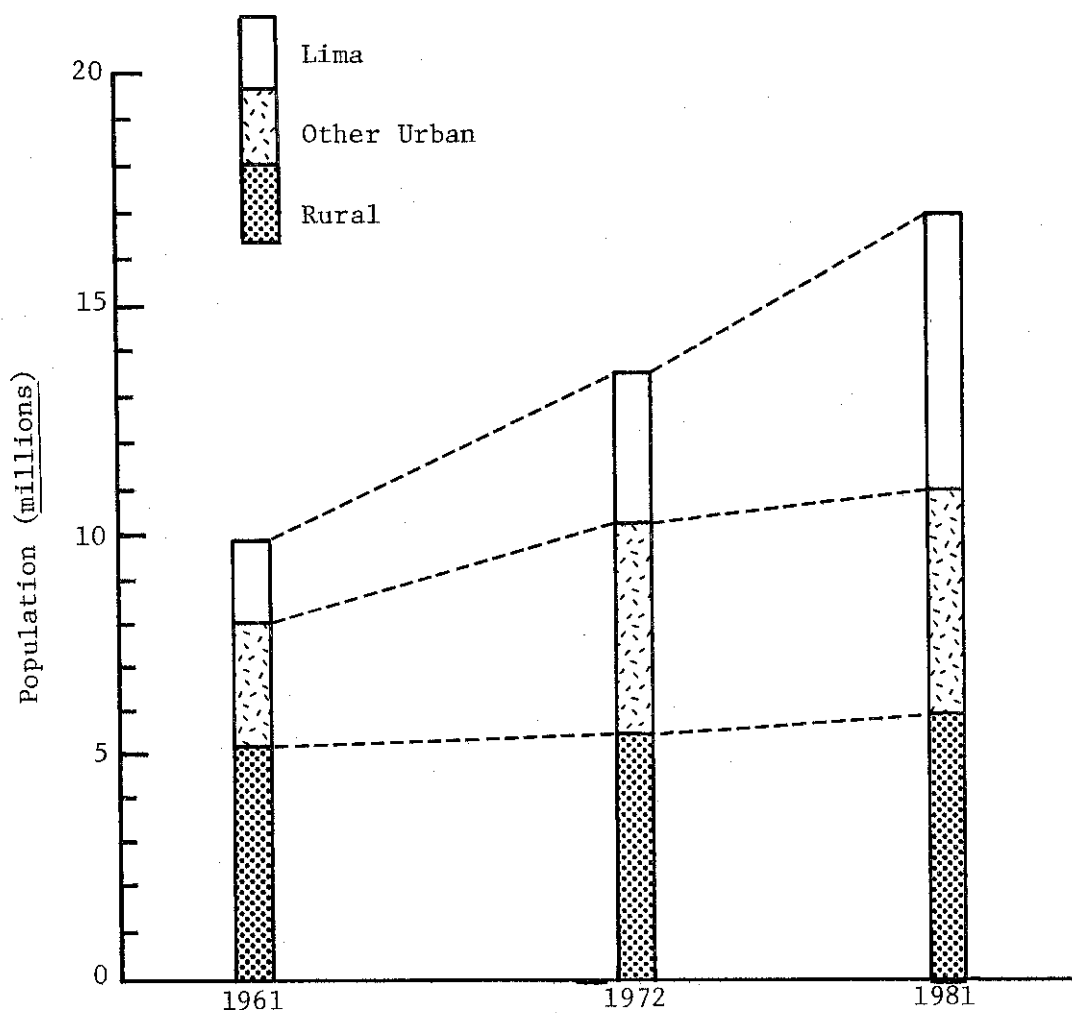
TABLE 1. PERU: MEASURES OF SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT BY REGION, EARLY 1970s*

Region	Infant Mortality per 1,000, 1970-75	1972, Industrial Establishments		Hospital Beds per 10,000 People, 1972	Doctors per 10,000 People, 1972
		Number	Percent		
Lima	46.2	4,900	79	45.3	18.0
Coastal Region, excluding Lima	76.7	576	8.5	23.2	5.5
Andean Highlands	156.2	982 ^{a/}	14.5	12.2	1.6
Rain Forest Region	127.7	266	4	12.6	1.2

*Data from: Perú, Oficina Nacional de Estadística, Las Migraciones Internas en el Perú, 1967-72 (Boletín de Análisis Demográfico #22, 1979), pp. 6-8.

^{a/} Half of these are located in Arequipa, the largest city in the highland region.

FIGURE 3. PERU: CHANGES IN POPULATION DISTRIBUTION, 1961-1981*



*Data from: Perú, Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Censos Nacionales VIII de Población - III de Vivienda, Resultados Provisionales del Censo de Población (1981), p. 5.

Economy

Peru's economy has traditionally been based on the exportation of agricultural and mining products. In recent decades, the contribution of industry to the country's gross national product (GNP) has been increasing (19, p. 5). Also occurring during the same years is a stagnation of agriculture (20, p. 6). Although total agricultural production and food production have increased, they have not kept up with population growth (16, p. 90).

Income is distributed very unequally in Peru. In 1961 the lowest 50 percent of the population received only about 11 percent of the income (30, p. 6). A decade later the situation had not improved (1, p. 107).

Peru has been experiencing a period of poor economic growth since 1975 (12, p. 158). Since then the GNP has shown little or no increase while the GNP per capita has decreased. During the same period there has been a large increase in inflation. Wages and salaries have not kept up with it. It is estimated that between 1974 and 1978 the real value of salaries dropped 50 percent while that of wages dropped 37 percent (2, p. 48).

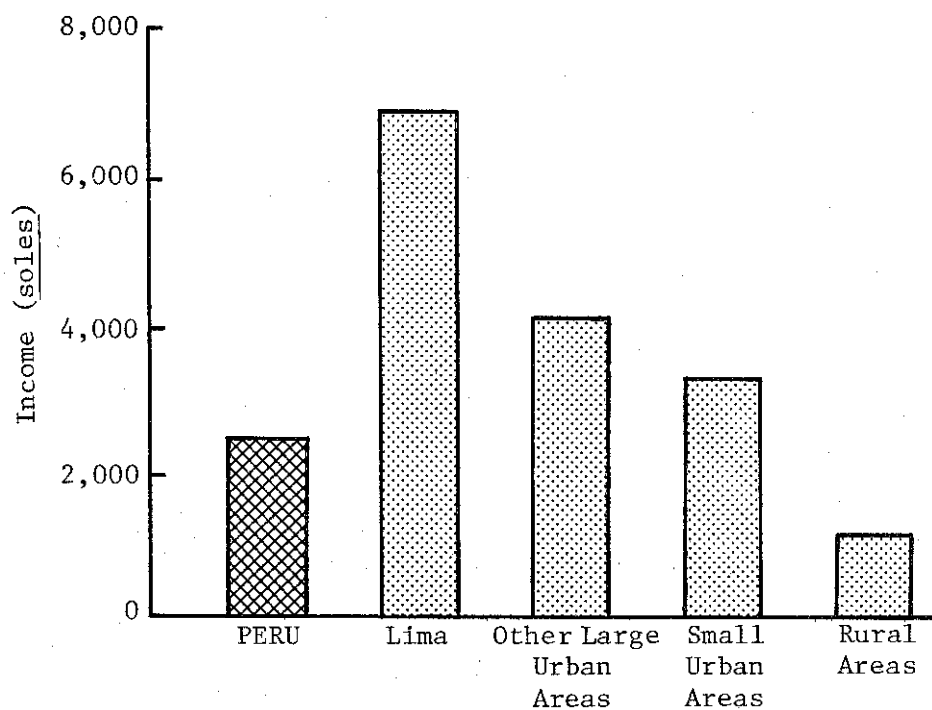
Living Conditions in the Urban and Rural Areas

Very different socioeconomic conditions exist in areas with varying degrees of urbanization. In the city of Lima, which is at least ten times larger than any other in the country, the highest living standards exist. In it are located practically all the country's political, administrative and financial institutions. It is the commercial and cultural center of the country. Its industrial preeminence is shown by the fact that it has 73 percent of the country's industrial establishments (22, p. 7) and produces three-fifths of the industrial output and four-fifths of the consumer goods (7, p. 34). On other hand, economic development is least and living conditions the lowest in the rural areas. Figure 4 shows how median family income varies throughout the country. It is directly proportional to degree of urbanization with that existing in Lima being almost three times greater than the national value and almost six times greater than the median family income in the rural areas (1, p. 38). The same trend is seen with the availability of basic services for the population as Figure 5 indicates. Housing conditions, as measured by the existence of electricity and running water, improve and educational opportunities increase in areas of greater urbanization (1, p. 125). In regard to income distribution, as Figure 6 shows, it tends to be most unequal in the rural areas (Gini coefficient = .56) and least so in Lima (Gini coefficient = .43) (1, p. 93).

These last three figures show that Lima holds many attractions to potential migrants. For those who desire to earn a higher income or give their children a greater chance of completing their education or wish to enjoy better housing conditions, Lima offers the biggest

FIGURE 4. PERU: MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME BY DEGREE OF URBANIZATION, 1971-72*

(soles)

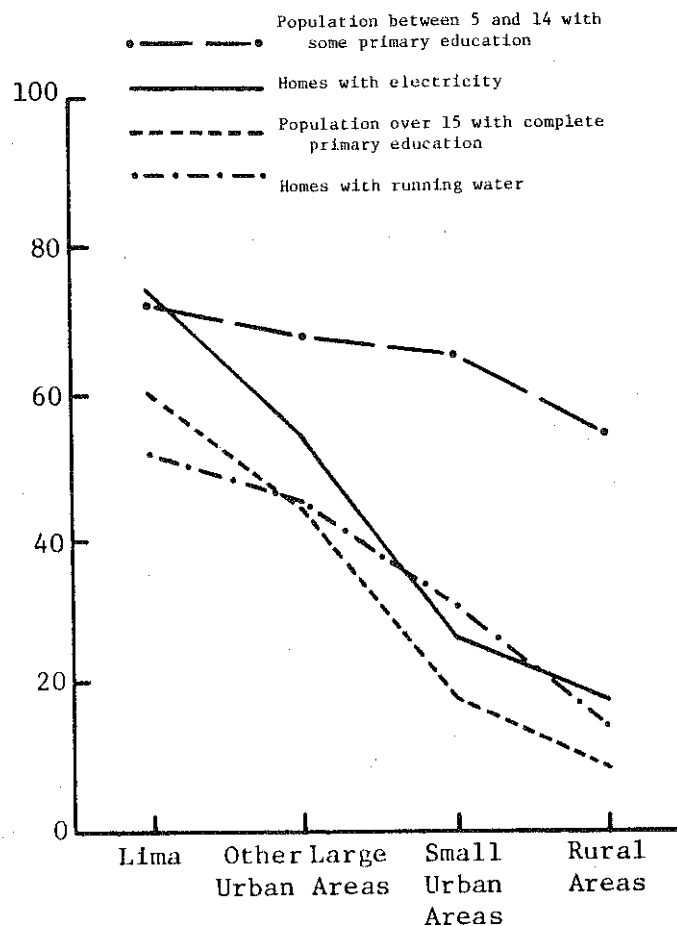


*Data from: Carlos Amat y León and Hector León, Distribución del Ingreso Familiar en el Perú (2nd ed., Centro de Investigación de la Universidad del Pacífico, Lima, 1981), p. 38.

U.S. \$1.00 = 43.38 Peruvian soles (1971-72).

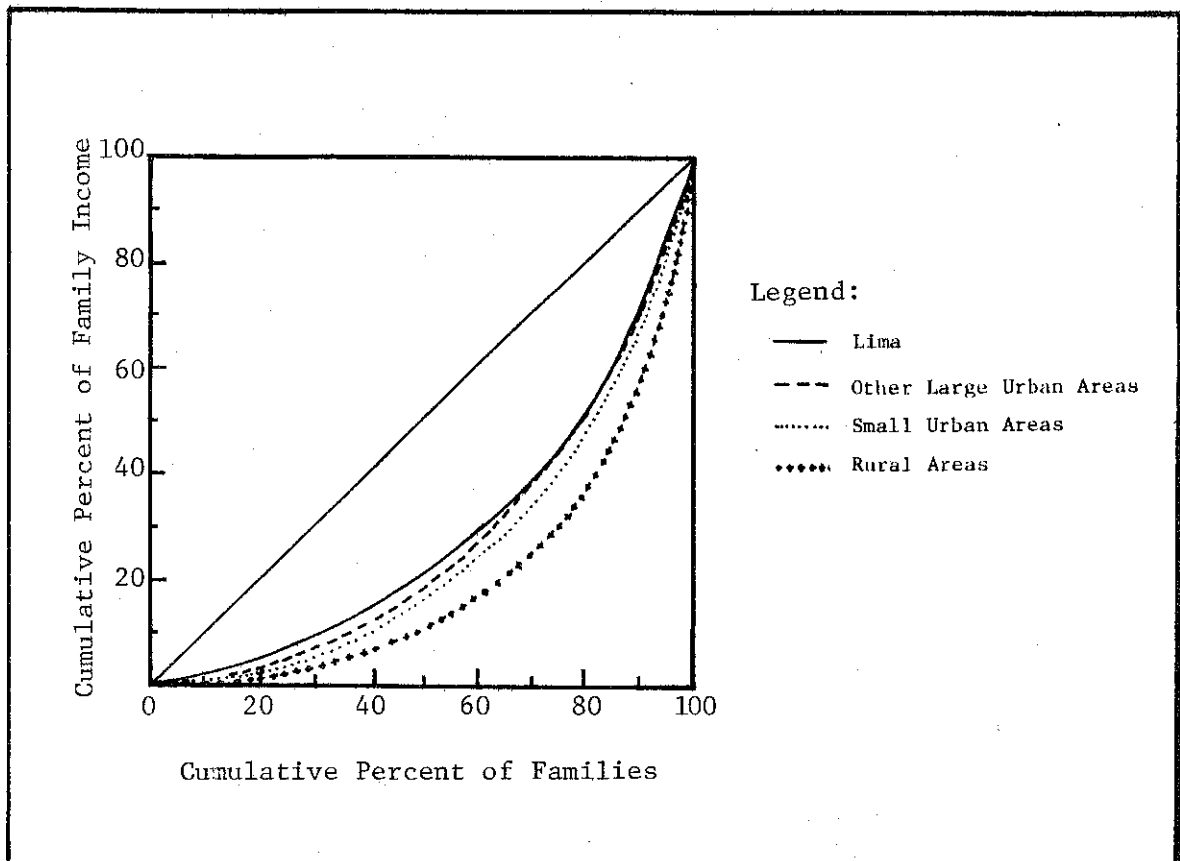
FIGURE 5. PERU: SATISFACTION OF THE BASIC NEEDS OF THE POPULATION,
BY DEGREE OF URBANIZATION, 1971-72*

(percent)



*Adapted from: Carlos Amat y León and Hector León, Distribución del Ingreso Familiar en el Perú (2nd ed., Centro de Investigación de la Universidad del Pacífico, Lima, 1981), p. 125.

FIGURE 6. PERU: INCOME DISTRIBUTION BY DEGREE
OF URBANIZATION, 1971-72*



*Reproduced from: Carlos Amat y León and Hector León, Distribución del Ingreso Familiar en el Perú (2nd ed., Centro de Investigación de la Universidad del Pacifico, Lima, 1981), p. 93.

opportunities. On the other hand, the deprivations of life in the rural areas are an incentive to migrants as well. Indeed, it cannot be said that it is either the attractiveness of the city or the austerity of life in the rural areas that causes migration. Since modern transportation and communication increasingly allow the living conditions in one area to be measured against those in the other, the two are inseparable incentives for migration.

III. INTERNAL MIGRATION IN PERU

In view of Lima's greater socioeconomic development, it is not surprising that it is the most frequent destination of migrants in Peru. For the period 1967 to 1972, estimates are that 56 percent of the country's internal migrants came to Lima. Other coastal cities also received migrants but in much smaller numbers: all of these cities together are estimated to have received about 19 percent of the total (22, p. 9). Currently, 100,000 migrants arrive to Lima yearly (13, p. 102) and about half of its population was not born in the city (23, p. 55).

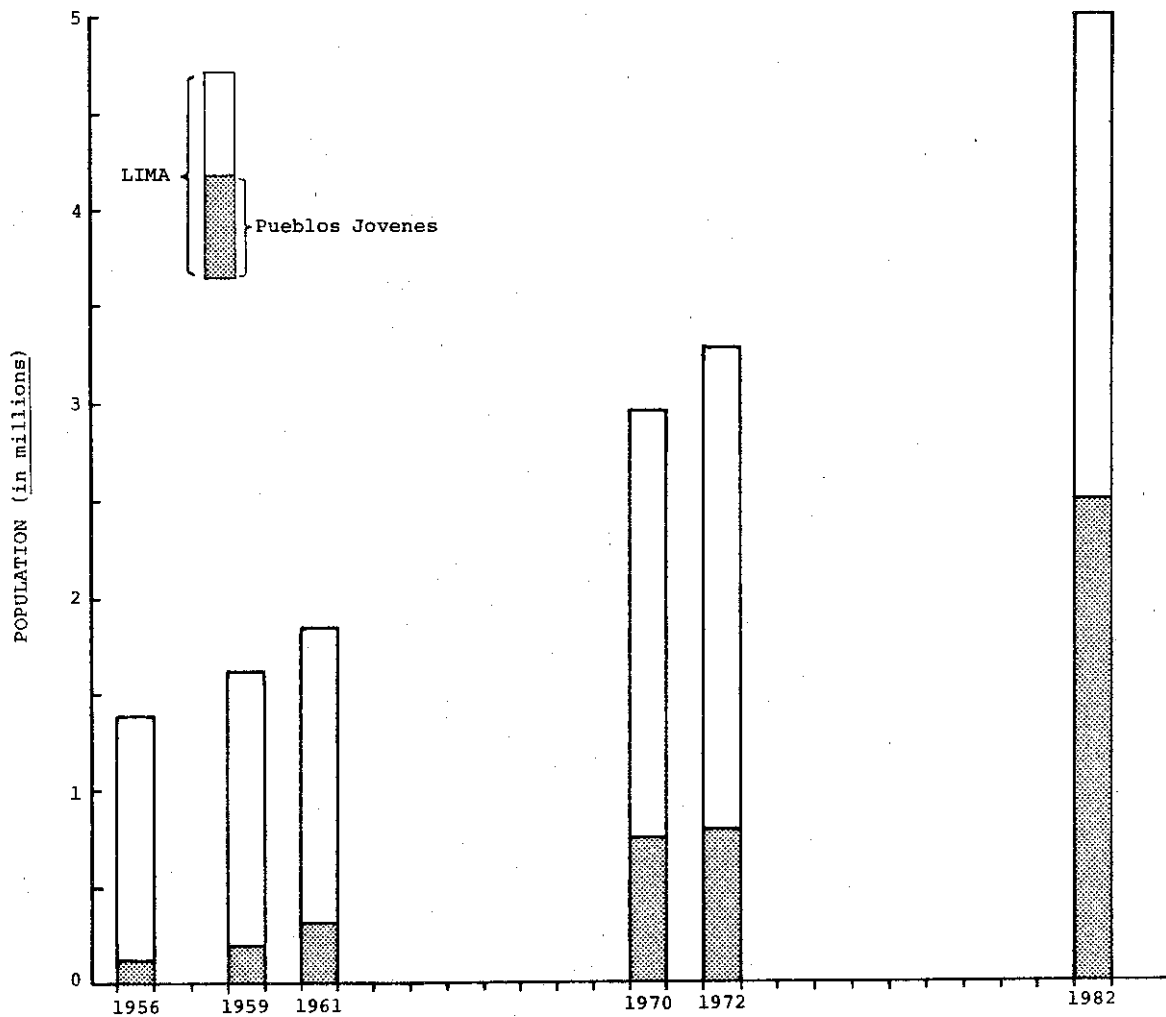
Figure 7 shows the rapid rate of population growth Lima has experienced much as a result of the migratory influx. Between 1940 and 1961 it grew annually at an average rate of 5.1 percent; this increased to 5.5 percent between 1961 and 1972 (23, p. 52). Over the years Lima has concentrated an increasingly higher percentage of the country's population. In 1940, it held about 10 percent (23, p. 39). This increased to 19 percent by 1961 (23, p. 39). The current estimate, using data from the 1981 census, is 26 percent (19, *passim*).

More than two-thirds of the migrants to Lima come from the most underdeveloped region of the country, the Andean highlands (22, p. 10). "Step" migration occurs frequently. Individuals or families move from the rural areas to progressively larger urban centers over the course of a lifetime or several generations (5, p. 31). A survey conducted in the late 1970s among 610 industrial workers of rural origin found that 40 percent of them had left their original place of residence to come directly to Lima and 60 percent had lived in one or more intermediary places. Half of these had taken less than five years to arrive in Lima while the others had taken longer (25, pp. 203, 208). Most of the migrants are adolescents, young adults or families with young children; the median age is 21.6 years (22, p. 19). There is a small predominance of males, and females tend to migrate at a slightly earlier age (22, p. 15). Lima's population structure reflects the presence of the migrants. As Figure 8 shows, Lima's population pyramid "bulges out" between the ages of 10 and 25, an age range that includes many of them.

IV. CONSEQUENCES OF RAPID URBANIZATION ON THE CITY OF LIMA

The rapid population growth has caused grave problems to the city and hardships to the migrants. Lima is an "overurbanized" city in the sense that it cannot adequately provide its growing population with basic services and job opportunities.

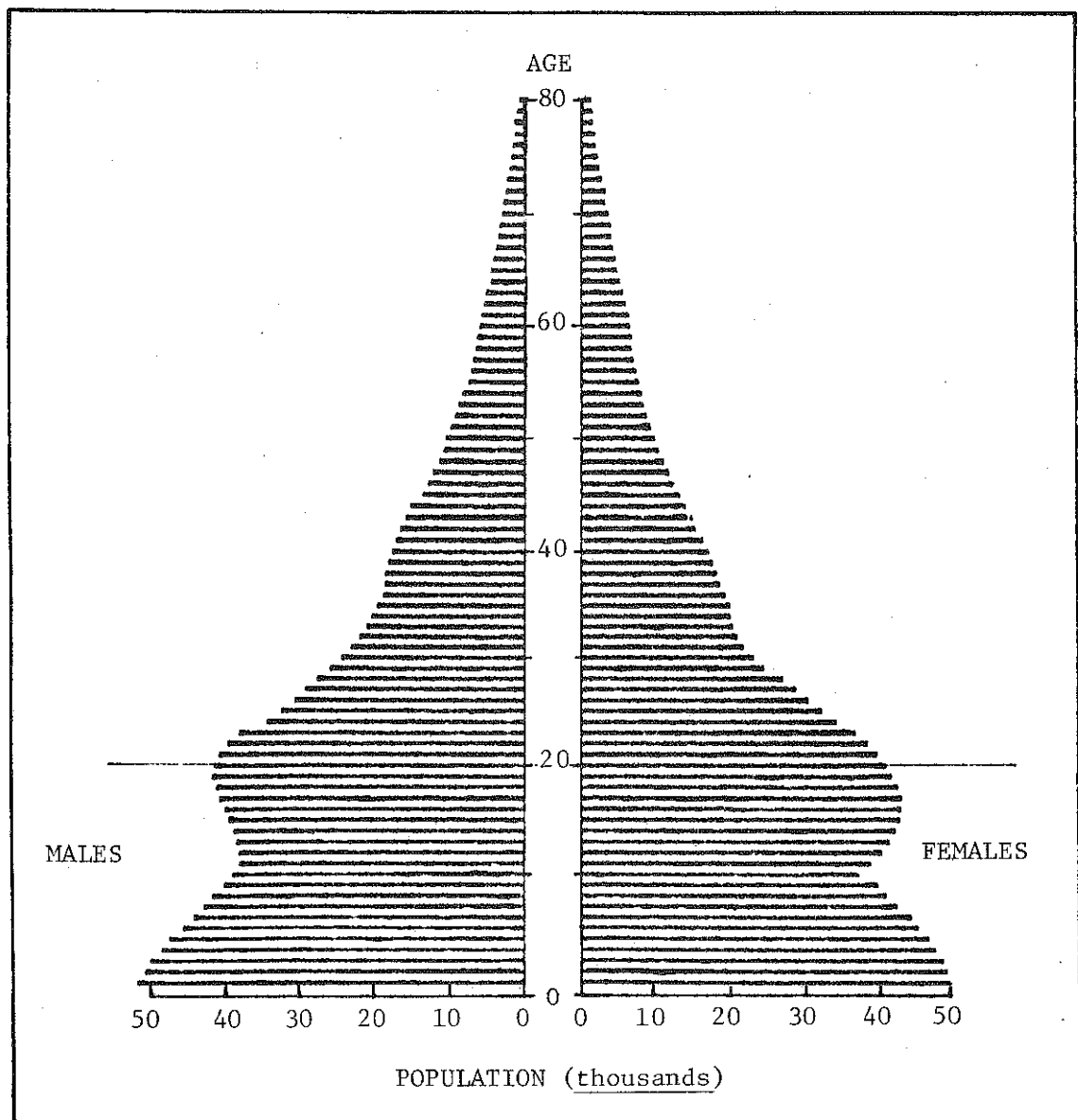
FIGURE 7. LIMA: POPULATION GROWTH, SELECTED YEARS, 1956-1982*



*Data from: Perú, Oficina Nacional de Estadística, La Población del Area Metropolitana de Lima-Callao (Boletín de Análisis Demográfico #15, 1975), p. 57.

Data for 1982 are estimates of the author.

FIGURE 8. LIMA: POPULATION PYRAMID, 1972*



*Reproduced from: Perú, Oficina Nacional de Estadística, La Población del Area Metropolitana de Lima-Callao (Boletín de Análisis Demográfico #15, 1975), p. 85.

Effect on Public Services

Lima's public services have been unable to attend the ever-increasing demand. The resources of the health care institutions affordable to the lowest income classes are strained due to the large numbers seeking attention. Public schools, often built by the area dwellers due to the government's financial inability, lack basic educational materials and supplies. In some schools up to three daily shifts of students are received to make the fullest use of the existing buildings. The public transportation system is notorious in Lima for the crowded and unsafe conditions in which passengers must travel. Many areas of the city cannot be adequately serviced by the police and the public sanitation system. Large areas are affected by pollution and congestion.

Effect on Employment

The city has also been unable to provide sufficient employment opportunities to its expanding population. Under- and unemployment abound. Figure 9 indicates the magnitude of the problem. Although the figure does not provide information on the size of Lima's work force between 1967 and 1978, it does show that an increasing percentage of it is underemployed or unemployed. The employment problem has been compounded by the country's poor economic growth in recent years. It has been estimated that in late 1978 only 52 percent of the city's work force was adequately employed (12, p. 172). Jobs most often obtained by migrants are in the tertiary sector (petty services, commerce or transportation) or in small enterprises which may not be regulated by government labor codes and hence, do not pay minimum wages nor offer workers' benefits (25, p. 226; 14, p. 126). A large proportion of migrants earn an unsteady income as street vendors. Young female migrants may take jobs as domestic servants.

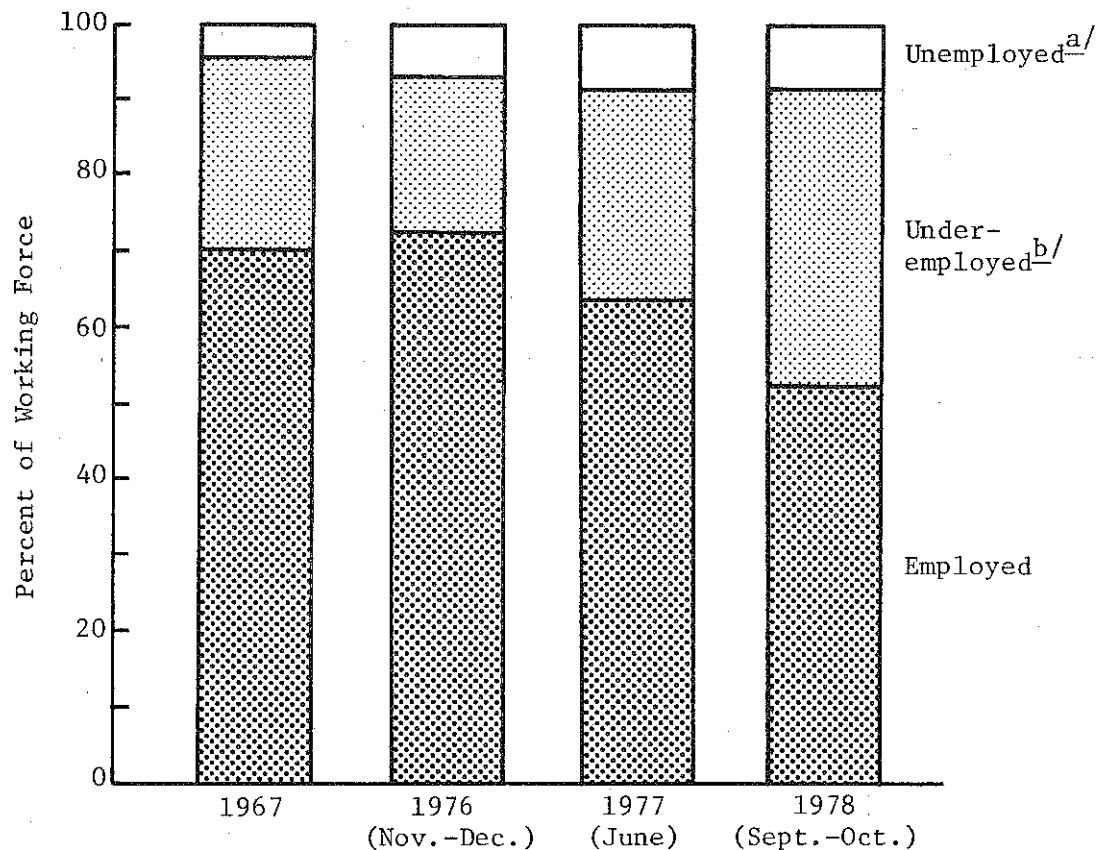
Effect on Housing

Another problem facing the migrants is that of finding adequate housing. The low and frequently erratic earning of the poorest income classes, urban-born and migrant, prevent them from accumulating savings and exclude them from obtaining bank loans or mortgages (7, p. 39). It has been stated that, according to figures of the Peruvian Ministry of Housing and Construction, only 15 percent of the urban working force has sufficient income to be able to obtain a housing loan from a private or government bank (4, p. 12). Most of the home construction is done by the private sector and is affordable only by the middle or upper classes (2, p. 47; 7, p. 40; 14, p. 38). Dietz provides an example (7, p. 41):

An early 1970s housing project known as Tupac Amaru advertised casas de interes social (literally, "social interest houses") and although this project may indeed have supplied much needed housing, the financing required that the prospective buyer pay 10 percent down (cash) with monthly payments of roughly U.S. \$50 to \$75. At the time, the official minimum wage was U.S. \$1.50 daily—or about \$50.00 a month. Obviously, most of the urban poor could view such requirements only with despair or disbelief.

FIGURE 9. LIMA: EMPLOYMENT SITUATION, 1967, 1976, 1977, 1978*

(percent)



a/ Defined as persons who do not have work and are actively seeking a job.

b/ Defined as persons who do not earn an amount equal to the legal minimum wage, or who earn the minimum wage but do not work more than 35 hours a week and are actively seeking a job, or both.

* Data from: Adolfo Figueroa, "Crecimiento, Empleo y Distribucion de Ingresos en el Peru," in R. Guerra Garcia, V. Sara Lafosse and L. Ruiz Carrillo, eds., Problemas Poblacionales Peruanos (AMIDEP, Lima, 1980), p. 172.

Housing affordable to the poorest income groups is in the tugurios (center-city slums) or in one of the pueblos jóvenes (settlements in the city periphery). Housing for those in the tugurios consists of rented rooms in run-down and subdivided buildings and houses or in shacks or rooms built in alleys or empty lots. Living conditions are deplorable. Lighting, ventilation, water supply and sewerage are poor. Because of the very high demand and to avoid tax increases, the owners of the slum housing make little effort to improve their properties (7, p. 36). The threat of eviction always exists not only due to nonpayment of rent but also because the building or area may be torn down for redevelopment.

The tugurios are the first homes of many migrants. Being within the city they are close to sources of casual employment. The dwellers of tugurios are a sizeable portion of Lima's population: in 1979, about a million of Lima's population were estimated to live in them (7, p. 36).

However, due to the poor living conditions, the rental payments and the threat of eviction, after a few years in Lima the tugurio dwellers move to the pueblos jóvenes forming on the city periphery (5, p. 33; 7, p. 36; 14, p. 41). The main advantage of living in a pueblo joven is that there the dwellers can own their homes and so do not need to pay rent. In 1979, about 1.5 million of Lima's population lived in the pueblos jóvenes (7, p. 36). When the dwellers first arrive to the pueblos jóvenes the living conditions may be poor. However, as shall be seen below, they greatly improve with time aided by a strong community organization (14, p. 142).

The move to the pueblos jóvenes is a step taken "only when the basic requirements for existence in Lima have been met" (7, p. 73): the migrant has gained familiarity with the city and has a fairly well assured income. Migrants move to the pueblos jóvenes "in order to consolidate their achievement by establishing a permanent residence" (7, p. 74). On the other hand, also moving to the settlements are individuals or families too poor to make regular rent payments who find themselves forced to move from the tugurios. Thus the pueblos jóvenes provide homes for the more successful migrants as well as the destitute (14, p. 142). Regardless of their financial situation, other people who live in the pueblos jóvenes are those who lived in tugurios and were forced to leave when the area was chosen for redevelopment.

V. EVOLUTION OF THE PUEBLOS JOVENES

Formation

Pueblos jóvenes may form in one of three ways: through the gradual arrival of families to an area, through an organized invasion of public or private land or through governmental authorization for settlement in an area. Many of the smaller pueblos jóvenes have developed by the slow arrival of families: agricultural laborers have built homes on or near agricultural land, or construction workers have occupied vacant land near their working sites (14, p. 40).

Organized invasions of land are planned secretly weeks or months in advance. Dozens or even hundreds of people may participate. The original organizers are a small group who recruit others among their friends and relatives (6, p. 78). The preinvasion planning includes notifying sympathetic reporters, contracting lawyers or law students to defend their squatter claims, and hiring topographers or civil engineering students to help lay out plots. The date chosen for the invasion is usually a national or religious holiday or a time when there are many foreign dignitaries in the city so as to deter the government from violent reaction. In the invading group everyone is assigned a role such as surveying, distributing lots, identifying participants, and communal cooking. On the chosen date they come suddenly onto the selected terrain, lay out spaces for streets and squares, mark off the plots and erect esteras (reed mat) shacks as their first homes (14, p. 40; 17, p. 157). Once the invasion is under way, the news may spread and attract more participants. One of the largest invasions occurred in 1958 and involved 10,000 people in the first 48 hours (6, p. 378).

Soon after the invasion, the participants form a representative organization. Community organization is important for often police forces are sent to remove the group from the area, especially when they are on privately owned land and mutual defense is necessary (5, p. 47).

In terms of the number of people benefited, government authorization for settlement in an area has been the most important type of pueblo joven formation (5, p. 43). Government authorization may take several forms. Collier states that one way is for there to be "an informal suggestion from a government official, often a representative of the president, that a particular piece of land is available for occupation and that the police will not interfere if it is occupied" (5, p. 43). At other times, there is a "formal, public approval of the occupation of the land; occasionally through a special decree or law . . . often government or army trucks carry the families to their new home site, at time simply leaving them in the desert to build their own community" (5, p. 42).

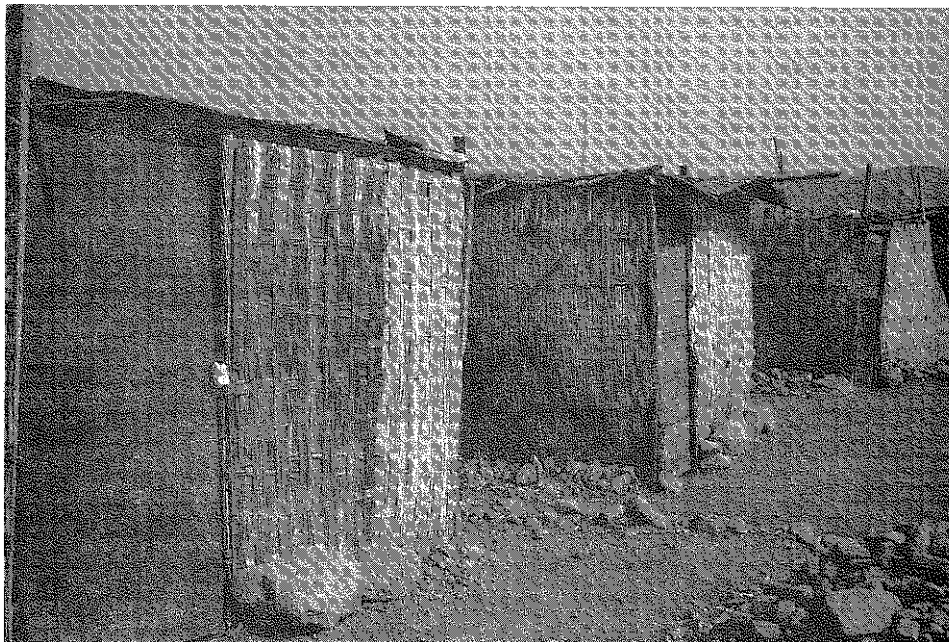
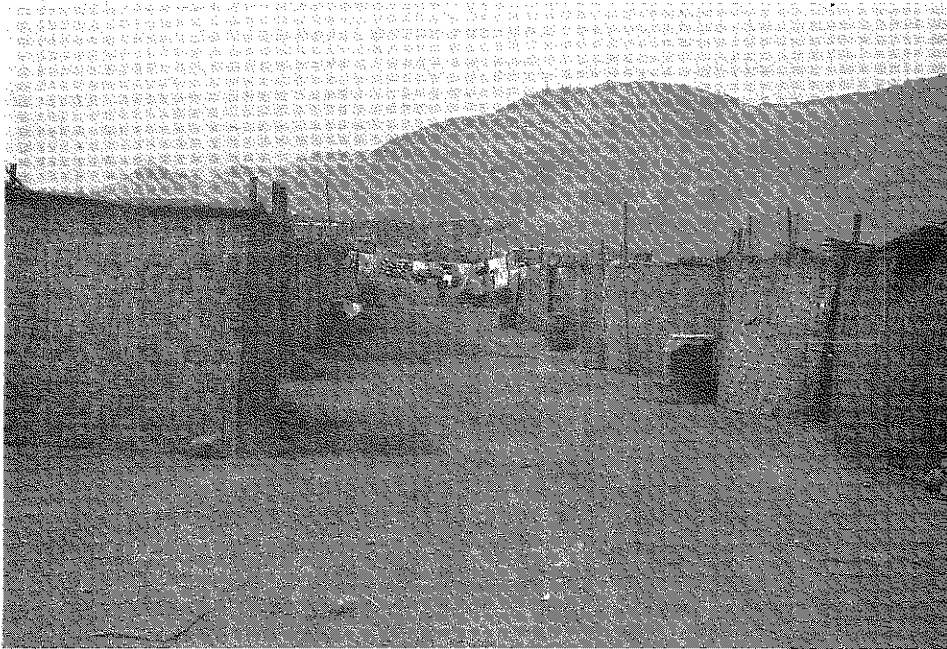
The first homes built are made of light and inexpensive materials: estereras, wooden poles, cardboard, etc. Immediately after the occupation of a site, trucks come by selling estereras and poles (5, p. 21). Lima's mild climate and lack of rainfall allows the building of homes of such materials. The homes are later improved according to each family's economic possibilities.

A young pueblo joven in the outskirts of Lima is shown in Plate 1. In this particular case the pueblo joven formed as a result of government authorization. As families arrived to the area and registered at a nearby government office, they were assigned a lot. No public services were provided.

Development

After a pueblo joven has formed, the first priority of the dwellers is to obtain security of tenure. If the pueblo joven has begun as a land invasion, it is illegal. During the first days or weeks of its

PLATE 1



Shacks made of esteras (reed mats) and wood poles are the first homes in a pueblo joven (settlement in the city periphery). This pueblo joven has formed as a result of government authorization. Each shack is built on the family's assigned lot. The oil drums seen are used as water containers.

existence there may be confrontations with the police. The squatters will either be forced to leave or be eventually accepted and the police forces withdrawn. Any newly-formed pueblo joven may receive a document granting it legal recognition by applying to the appropriate office of the Ministry of Housing and Construction. Any not granted this will have to relocate (4, pp. 36-39).

The improvement of homes occurs sporadically over many years as the families' economic situation allows. It is not uncommon to see estera shacks next to one-or two-story brick buildings (see Plate 2).

The development of the community through the building of roads, schools and recreation areas is largely the responsibility of the dwellers. Community organizations are formed for this purpose (5, p. 22; 14, p. 6). Government agencies may help remodel the pueblo joven to conform to urban planning regulations (4, p. 35). Adults and teenagers spend several hours weekly working on community improvement projects.

For public services to be installed (electricity, water and a sewer system), legal recognition of the settlement is required (4, p. 36). The government provides technical aid and materials. The pueblo joven dwellers must provide the necessary labor and pay the costs (4, pp. 103-104; 7, p. 53; 14, pp. 6-7). This last factor is often the main obstacle to the installation of public services. These may also not be installed because the terrain on which the pueblo joven is raises technical problems or because it is not given sufficient importance to attract government aid or the dwellers have not been active enough in demanding improvements (14, p. 48).

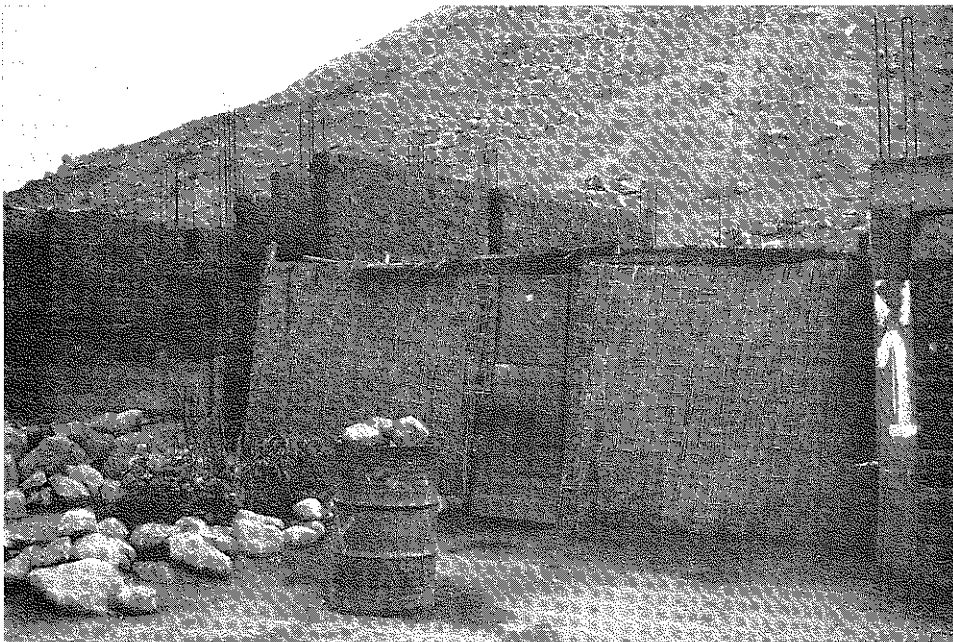
In most pueblos jóvenes public services are obtained only after years or even decades of existence. In the meantime, candles and kerosene lamps provide lighting, vacant areas or nearby streams or rivers are used for waste disposal and water is obtained from tanker trucks and stored in tanks or oil drums at each home (see Plate 3).

Settlement dwellers may also apply to the Ministry of Housing and Construction for a title to their individual plots of land. This may only be obtained after the pueblo joven has been legally recognized. The new land owner must buy the lot at a price set by the government (4, pp. 40-45).

Pueblos jóvenes may continue to grow for many years after they are first formed. Families arriving later are often friends and relatives of older residents (5, p. 21). The new dwellers make their homes on the edges of the expanding pueblo joven.

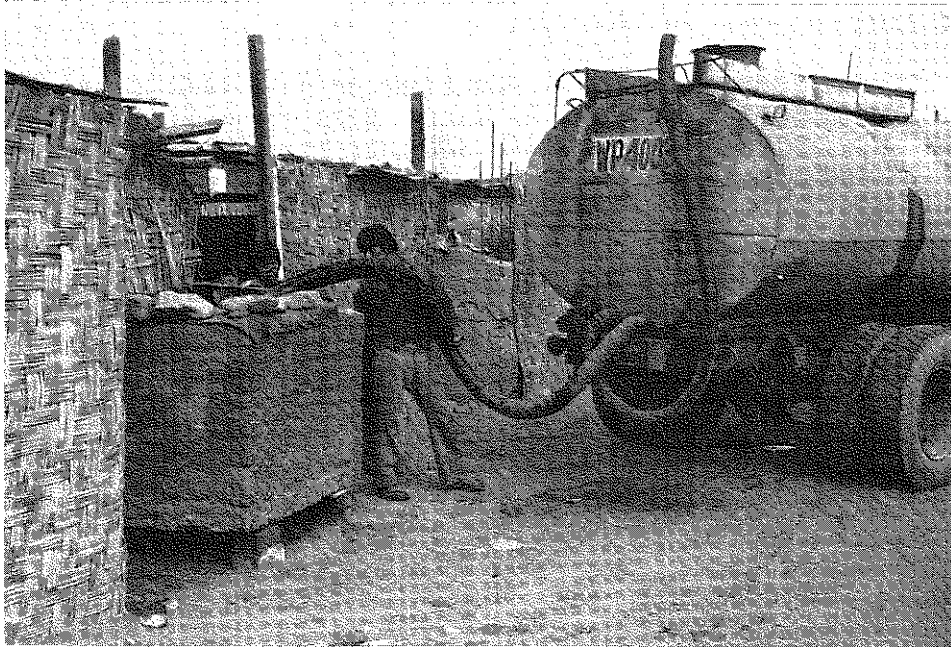
Migrants form a majority of the population of Lima's pueblos jóvenes. A survey conducted in 1970 found that 75 percent of the population over the age of 15 was not born in Lima (21, p. 7). A majority of the migrants had lived elsewhere in the city before moving to the pueblos jóvenes. In a survey done in 1972 in Lima's largest settlement, it was found that about 95 percent of the families had come from other pueblos jóvenes or

PLATE 2



Families improve their homes as their economic situation allows. Home construction continues over many years.

PLATE 3



Public services such as electricity, water, sewerage and roads often take many years to be installed in pueblos jóvenes. To supply themselves with water, dwellers purchase it from tanker-trucks which have regular routes in the pueblos jóvenes. Water is stored in oil drums (see Plates 1 and 2) or in brick tanks (also shown in Plate 2).

the tugurios; only 5 percent had come to the pueblo joven directly from another part of Peru (24, p. 46).

History

The settlements began to form in the 1930s. Before 1940 the settlements were small and formed mainly by the gradual arrival of families to an area. That year a severe earthquake struck Lima. Many areas of the city were destroyed and several settlements formed as a result. At that time the migratory influx to Lima began to increase with a consequent increase in the need for housing. The first organized invasion of private land occurred in 1946 (15, pp. 30, 60, 68).

The earliest settlements developed on hillsides and plains relatively near the downtown area. In the early 1950s areas on both sides of the river that crosses the city were occupied (7, pp. 35-36). The expansion of the city continued as larger numbers of migrants arrived yearly. In 1954 the first massive invasion of land outside the city limits occurred (15, p. 15). Since then, the expansion of the pueblos jóvenes has been north and south of the city along major highways (5, p. 20; 23, p. 56).

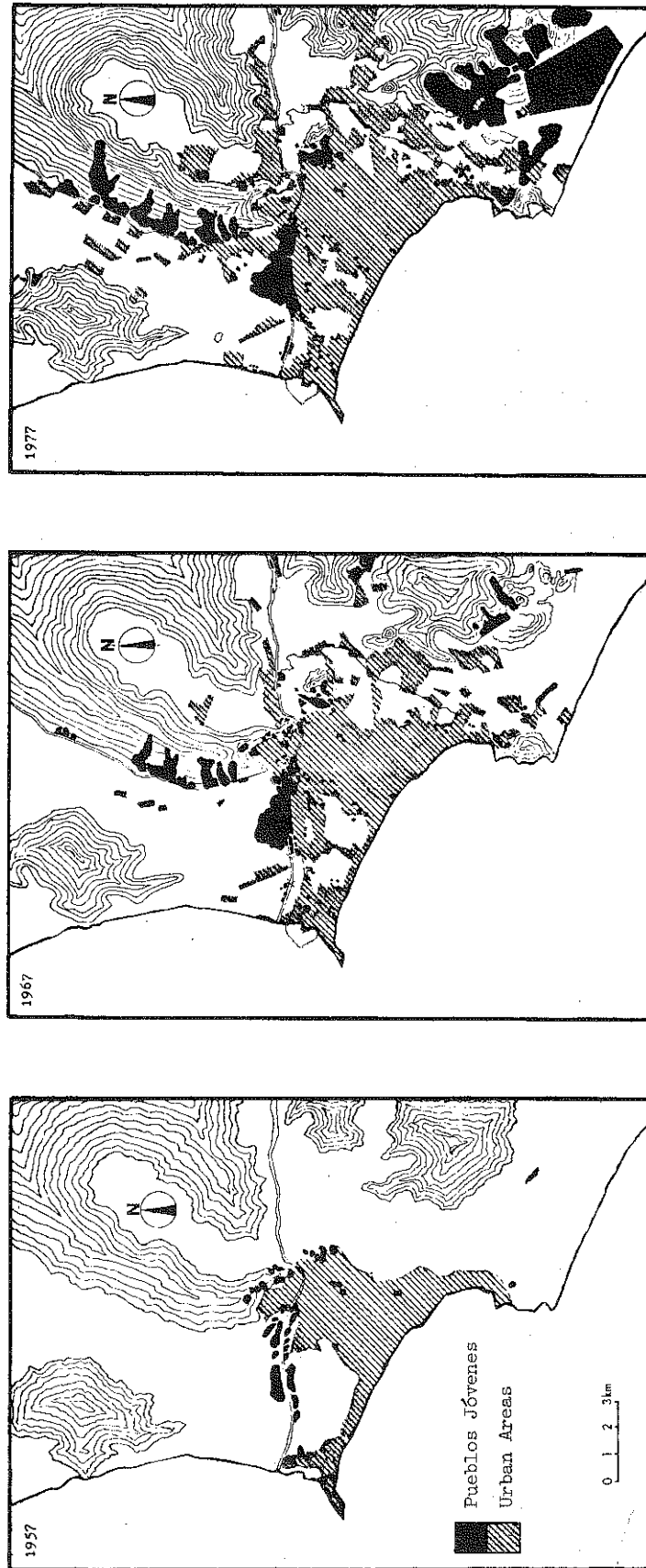
The oldest pueblos jóvenes formed on what was then the periphery of the city; with its growth they are now within the city limits. Figure 10 illustrates the growth of the pueblos jóvenes between 1957 and 1977. Just as the settlements have come to occupy a larger and larger area in and around the city, over the years their population has become an increasing fraction of the city population. In 1956 they contained less than 9 percent of the city population; in 1970 it was a quarter of the total (23, p. 57). As mentioned above, the 1979 estimate of the population of the pueblos jóvenes was a million and a half (7, p. 36); using that figure, a third of Lima's population resided in them. In early 1982, a high official of the municipal government stated that by latest estimate, the pueblos jóvenes were the homes of half of the city population (10).

Lima's oldest settlements are 40 years old. Some of them have prospered and are now indistinguishable from other lower-middle income areas of the city. Electricity, water and sewerage have been installed, there are paved roads and sidewalks, schools, medical centers, recreation areas and numerous small businesses. All the buildings are made of brick. Several of the oldest and largest pueblos jóvenes have become incorporated to the city as districts.

Diversity

In 1979 there were 349 legally recognized pueblos jóvenes in Lima (4, p. 15). There are great differences among them. Settlements of varying ages have contrasting appearances since they differ in the availability of public services and the level of physical development. The geographic location on which a pueblo joven has developed is also influential. Some grew on the hillsides surrounding the city, other on nearby flat and sandy plains. In the former, houses climb the hills in a crowded and seemingly haphazard manner, linked by narrow crooked paths. On the flat plains an orderly street grid can be followed with open areas

FIGURE 10. THE PUEBLOS JOVENES OF LIMA,
1957, 1967, 1977*



*Reproduced from: José Matos Mar, Las Barriadas de Lima, 1957 (2nd ed., Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Lima, 1977).

left for future parks, medical centers and community buildings. Settlements also differ in their mode of formation and the aid they have received from the government. In regard to size, Lima's largest pueblo joven was recently estimated to have a population of half a million (making it larger than any city in Peru except Lima), and is still growing (2, p. 35). On the other hand, a survey conducted in 1973 found that approximately a third of the pueblos jóvenes have populations of less than 500 (14, p. 47). Thus, there is no "typical pueblo joven."

VI. GOVERNMENTAL ATTITUDES AND ACTIONS TOWARD THE PUEBLOS JOVENES^{2/}

The settlements now referred to as pueblos jóvenes began to form in the 1930s as infrequent and isolated events. There was little direct interaction between the dwellers and the government. No legislation existed to regulate their formation and development, and any confrontations were between land owners and invaders. However, since the 1940s, when the migratory influx began to increase, the pueblos jóvenes have had an important place in Peruvian politics.

Three major changes in Peruvian society occurred during the early twentieth century that were influential in determining governmental policy toward the urban settlements in the following decades. First, during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the exportation of primary products grew in importance. Sugar and cotton were grown on vast haciendas in the northern coast and minerals were extracted from mines in the highland region, forming enclaves of economic growth in areas that were mostly rural, traditional, and underdeveloped. These centers of economic power displaced the regional urban middle classes and small-scale landowners, both of which, in many cases, became laborers in the export-oriented enterprises. A new political party, called APRA (Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana), arose out of the coalition of the displaced middle class, the former small landowners, and the rural laborers. APRA emerged as an opponent of the elites and as the principal political force favoring radical changes within Peruvian society.

During the same period, there was a weakening of the power of the highland agricultural elite. Production there was oriented toward local and regional markets. With the growth of export-oriented production, a declining proportion of national income was contributed by highland agriculture. Also occurring in the highlands was a rapid growth of the peasant population causing a partitioning of their land holdings and a decline in the standard of living.

Finally, there was concurrently an increase in the urban population. The urban centers became an important base for reformist, mass-based

^{2/}This section relies heavily on an analysis of the policies of the Peruvian government toward the pueblos jóvenes by David Collier and a description of housing and urban policies in Peru by Abelardo Sanchez León and Julio Calderón Cockburn (5, 26).

political parties such as APRA. Over time, the growing power of these political groups became a threat to the export elite.

The first president to deal extensively with the settlements was General Manuel Odría. Backed by the export elite, he came to power through a coup in 1948. In the previous years, APRA had had a majority in Congress and had worked vigorously to build its party base. Odría sought to diminish APRA's power. Aid in the formation and development of the settlements was used as a means to gain the political support of the lower classes. Odría and his wife made numerous visits to the settlements and many were formed and extensively aided. To have the poor establish a dependent relationship with him, Odría never granted individual land titles. The dwellers' security of tenure depended on the president's willingness to let them remain on the land.

Early in his government, Odría took various measures that caused him to lose the support of the export elite. The agricultural elite of the highlands remained a political ally. Odría's policy of supporting the formation and development of the pueblos jovenes encouraged migration as did major public work projects in the capital city. Migration to the urban areas could help postpone further deterioration of the rural society of the highlands. Thus, Odría's policies were responsive to the needs of the highland agricultural elite.

As a result of Odría's policies, settlements increased greatly in size and population. A new political sector was created which future governments could not ignore.

Manuel Prado, a candidate supported by the export elite, won the following presidential elections held in 1956. His policies toward the settlements reflected this base of support and the fact that he belonged to a wealthy family with urban commercial, banking and real estate interests.

During his government the first proposals for agrarian reform were made. By then the highland agricultural elite had lost practically all of its political and economic power at the national level. The export elite supported agrarian reform in the highland areas and the expansion of agricultural land through irrigation and colonization of sparsely populated yet potentially fertile areas east of the Andes. This was with the intent of limiting the migratory pressure on Lima and in so doing, inhibiting the growth of social sectors which posed the greatest threat to them.

Prado's government also sought to increase the role of the private sector in low-income housing construction. This was done through such measures as the elimination of rent control, tax incentives for the construction of low-income housing and the encouragement of mutual savings and loan associations.

Prado was inclined to take the view of the landowner in reacting to squatter invasions. Several times he approved the formation of new settlements when the dwellers of them were to be evicted from center

city areas so that redevelopment plans of private investors and construction companies could be carried out.

As the presidential elections of 1962 approached and the political parties vied for support from the settlement dwellers, Law 13517, which made sweeping commitments to benefit the settlements, was passed by Prado's government. The law offered an alternative to the illegal formation of settlements and provided for the remodeling and legalization of existing ones. New settlements could be formed by an existing national housing agency, local governments, or nonprofit groups. Before residents moved into them, streets would have been paved, and water, sewage and electricity installed. The development of the settlements was to be through self-help and community projects with technical and financial assistance from the government. The residents would pay, on a long-term basis, for the services installed prior to their arrival and for the land, receiving their titles when payments had been completed. Settlements that were already formed could not be legalized until remodeling to conform to city regulations had been done and services had been installed.

Until the passing of Law 13517 there had been no legal norms pertaining to the settlements. Their existence had depended on the governments' tolerance and the dwellers organized resistance. With the law, the government formalized policies that had previously been applied on a very informal basis. In addition, it was committed to allowing the formation of additional settlements and to remodeling and legalizing all previously formed ones.

Presidential elections were held again in 1962. None of the candidates obtained enough votes to claim victory so the choice of president had to be made by the Congress. The military forces staged a coup claiming electoral fraud. They held power as a "caretaker" government until new elections were held the following year. During its brief tenure, this government was committed to implementing Law 13517.

The next president was Fernando Belaúnde, who held power from 1963 until 1968. Belaúnde's support came from Lima's middle and upper-middle classes and the rural areas. He believed that Peru suffered from grave overcentralization and thus his development program emphasized the rural areas. He sought to diminish the migratory flow to Lima through rural development projects such as a highway network to join the relatively isolated area east of the Andes to the rest of the country. He also proposed agrarian reform. Compared to previous governments, relatively less interest was shown toward the settlements during his administration. The application of Law 13517 faltered although financial and technical assistance as well as legal recognition was given to some settlements in accordance with it.

During Belaúnde's government several new city districts were formed, made up entirely of settlements. He also granted more power and autonomy to city and city district governments. Both measures reflected his concern with decentralization and led to greater activity in the local political structure of the settlements. In the last year of his government, owing to protests and threatened marches to the presidential palace by settlement dwellers, a law was passed allowing the granting of titles without settlement remodeling.

A series of political and economic crises during Belaúnde's administration led to a military coup in 1968. In contrast to Belaúnde, this government gave much importance to the pueblos jóvenes. They sought a tighter control over land and the development of settlements than any previous government had. One of the reasons for this was that the settlements had become so extensive that land around the city available for new ones was becoming scarce. Another reason was that the settlement dwellers' organizations were emerging as a strong political group. The government feared the growth of independent power centers and realized the benefits to be obtained if they could be controlled. As a result, ONDEPJOV (Organismo Nacional de Desarrollo de Pueblos Jóvenes) and later SINAMOS (Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a la Movilización Social), government offices in charge of the physical development and political control of the pueblos jóvenes, were formed. The formation of new pueblos jóvenes became strictly controlled, being allowed only in large uninhabited areas beyond the city designated for such purpose. In pueblos jóvenes already existing, physical development projects were carried out under the direction of the government office staff and with the labor of the dwellers.

The attempts to guide the political expression of the dwellers of the pueblos jóvenes failed. The government did not carry out all of the expected community projects and the dwellers became disillusioned and embittered. In 1978, SINAMOS, the responsible government agency, was finally dismantled. At the same time, Peru's declining economic situation forced the government to diminish the funds for pueblo joven development. Governmental action became limited to allowing pueblos jóvenes to form only in designated areas.

The dismantling of SINAMOS marked the beginning of the final period in government-settlement relations, a period in which the government lessened its activities in the settlements. Since 1979, laws were passed by the military government and, after the presidential election of 1980, by a civilian government again headed by Belaúnde, reaffirming the new governmental attitude. Functions such as guiding the development and city integration of the pueblos jóvenes are no longer carried out by national government agencies. Instead, they have been taken up by the governments of city districts which have pueblos jóvenes in their jurisdiction.

In summary, settlements have grown in size and population over the past decades in large measure because of the support received from successive governments. Settlement formation and development has been allowed or encouraged when it fitted government strategies for rural and urban development or when it was a means of gaining the political support of the lower classes or when it benefited private investors and industry.

More recently, the trend has been for an increased role of city district governments in the development of pueblos jóvenes while national government agencies have decreased their participation. Perhaps this is because the enormous growth and resulting multiple problems of Lima no

longer allow the growth of the settlements to be included in national development plans, and the increasing political strength and growing demands of the dwellers make it more difficult to use settlement development as means of gaining political support. Since the financial resources of each city district are much smaller than that of the government, the aid that the pueblos jóvenes can receive in the future has probably greatly decreased. As never before, the development of the pueblos jóvenes will depend on the dwellers' own financial and organizational abilities.

VII. PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

For several decades, the development of settlements has been favored by governments as the response to the unavailability of low-cost housing for migrants to Lima. The governments have been fortunate that land has been available on plains and hills around the city, and that Lima has a benign climate that has allowed light and inexpensive materials to be used in construction.

Settlements have eased the problems of poverty for the migrants since the inexpensive land and lack of rent allowed them to spend their income on other necessities or even to save. Living in a settlement has been for many a vehicle for upward socioeconomic mobility. Evidence of this is the fact that in many older pueblos jóvenes city services are available and living conditions have greatly improved with time.

However, the future improvement of living conditions of the pueblos jóvenes is now limited by various constraints. For many years, settlements could expand and grow in number because there was always additional available land. Settlements have now grown to such an extent that land near the city available for new ones (that is, land without a high commercial value) is becoming scarce. Some of the most recently formed pueblos jóvenes are over an hour's bus ride from the downtown and industrial areas of the city. Much time and income must thus be spent on public transportation.

A greater hindrance to the improvement of the living conditions of the dwellers of the pueblos jóvenes is the difficulty of obtaining potable water and sewage service. It is currently estimated that at least a million of the dwellers do not have this service in their homes (8). The consequent unsanitary living conditions undoubtedly affect the health and well-being of all family members and have been shown to be associated with poor growth among preschool children. In a recent study done in pueblos jóvenes northeast of Lima, where water is bought from tanker trucks and stored in oil drums or brick tanks, child height was found to be significantly positively correlated with family income spent on water (because all families paid the same price for water, this is a proxy variable for amount of water purchased by the family) (13A, p. 215).

The availability of an abundant and inexpensive source of water would, by itself, probably bring about a remarkable improvement in the public health situation of the pueblos jóvenes. However, the government faces great difficulties in carrying out such an endeavor. The newer pueblos jóvenes have formed at such far distances to the city or on such steep hills that supplying them with water has a prohibitive cost. Even if the costs were not as great as they are, it would still be impossible to establish the service because the city water supply is insufficient (8). Currently, a vast project to supply water to the city by diverting it from the highland Mantaro River is underway. Water from that source will begin to be available in 1986, but the additional water is only expected to cover the growing urban area's needs until 1993 (9).

Measures to ease the migratory pressure on Lima have been taken. There are plans to promote the development of smaller cities on the central coast by offering tax incentives to industries and improving the highways connecting them to each other and Lima. It is hoped that these urban areas will become alternative destinations for migrants. There are also plans to make access to the region east of the Andes easier. A major network of highways connecting it to the highlands and coast is under construction (3). Finally, a nationwide rural electrification project is underway (11).

In spite of these rural development projects, Lima's population is expected to continue growing at a rapid rate. It has been estimated that if present trends continue, it will have doubled by the year 2000 (29, p. 131). In addition to the hardships caused by high unemployment or underemployment and inadequate public services, future migrants that will contribute to this growth may not, as mentioned previously, have the government assistance offered to others in the past. Neither will many of them be able to expect the same rate of improvement in living conditions that previous migrants have enjoyed. Their future, and that of the city itself, appears more difficult than ever.

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